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OUR CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

Shri K. V. Gopala Krishnan, a research scholar of the University of Madras, gives a brief account of the Political, Social and Economic Life of the people of Tirukkachur through the ages in his article "Gleanings from Tirukkachur Inscriptions."

Dr. V. M. Apte, one of our regular contributors, offers in this issue the fifth instalment of his article on "Vratá in the Ṛgveda."

Shri Severine Silva, the well-known Advocate and scholar of Karwar, concludes his translation of the "Yearly Records of the Mission of Caruar" in this issue and adds a short biographical account of Father Francis Xavier of St. Anne.

Dr. Mahdi Husain of the Calcutta University, contributes "A Short History of Khandesh" of which the First Chapter dealing with the period 1302 to 1601 appears in this issue.

Shri L. A. Krishna Iyer, son of Shri L. K. Ananta Krishna Iyer, Emeritus Professor of Anthropology, University of Madras, in his article on "Matriarchy in Kerala" bewails the gradual weakening of the matriarchal system which according to him had a 'world-wide distribution' at one time.

OURSELVES

Lectures

"Traces of Ancient History and Civilization in Coastal Mysore" was the theme of a lecture delivered by Shri Severine Silva on 7–4–1961.

Shri K. K. Shenoy of the Canara Bank, Ltd. Bangalore, delivered a lecture on "Banking in Ancient India" on the 11th of April 1961.

"The Pāncharātra Philosophy of Iconography" was the subject-matter of a lecture delivered by Professor M. Yamunacharya on 15–4–1961.

Dr. A. R. Vasudeva Murthy, Assistant Professor of Chemistry, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, delivered a lecture in Kannada on "ಭರ್ತೃಹರಿಯ ಕಾವ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಂಡುಬರುವ ವೈರಾಗ್ಯ ಲಕ್ಷಣಗಳು" (*Vairāgya lakṣaṇās* traceable in the *kāvyas* of Bhartruhari) on 23-5-1961. Professor S. K. Ramachandra Rao presided.

Shri M. Shridhara Murthy, Assistant Editor, Prajavani, Bangalore, delivered a lecture on "Hanūmān" in Kannada on 25-5-1961. Dr. A. R. Vasudeva Murthy presided.

Members

We welcome the following New Members:

Shriyuts: Y. K. Rajagopal, G. S. Rama Rao, N. S. Seetharama Sastri and A. C. Hanumanthachari.

Shri M. S. Natarajan, one of our members, has converted his ordinary membership into Life-membership.

General

Shrimati Radhabai Madhava Rao has promised to donate an almirah and about 250 books from the collection of the late Shri V. P. Madhava Rao. The Society's thanks are due to Srimati Radhabai Madhava Rao and to the members of her family.

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GLEANINGS FROM TIRUKKACHUR INSCRIPTIONS

K. V. GOPALA KRISHNAN, M.A.

About thirty miles south of Madras City and near Singaperumāḷ Koil, there is a small village, called Thirukkachūr. It is a place of hoary past. The antiquity of the village, according to known evidence, goes at least to the seventh and the eighth centuries A.D. as it finds mention in the Dēvāram hymns. *The Peria Purāṇam*, a work of the twelfth century A.D. recapitulates an important event in the life of the great Dēvaram hymner Sundarar that took place in the village. Sundaramurthi Nāyanār, in the course of his pilgrimage in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, visited this place and sang in its honour in great ecstacy. The *Peria Purāṇam* says, that when Sundarar came to the village, he was extermely hungry and tired, and so after worshipping the Lord in the temple, he fell asleep in the temple without taking food. The Lord, with infinite mercy came in the disguise of a Brāhmin, went from house to house in the Thirukkachūr village, begging for food for the sake of his beloved devotee. Sundarar himself seems to refer to this remarkable episode in his *padikam* on Thirukkachūr, wherein he says "If you go about begging, will not your humble devotees feel sorry?"

That the memory of this association with the Nāyanārs was kept alive in subsequent days, is attested by the fact that, as early

as the reign of Kulōttuṅga III, the image of Appar or Tirunāvukkarasudēva was installed in the Tirukkachūr Temple.[1] A garden of the temple was called 'Thirugñānasambaṅdar Tiru Naṅdavanam,' obviously called after the Nāyanmār Thirugñānasambaṅdar (seventh centuary A. D.).[2] The way in which even an ordinary maid servant of the temple called herself as 'Thirugñānasambanda Māṇikkam,' shows unmistakably the profound influence of the Śaivite Nāyanmārs over the place and its people.[3]

This ancient character of the place and its association with Suṅdaramūrti Nāyanār, in particular, must have made Thirukkachūr, a popular centre of Śaivism, attracting as it did, many chiefs and royal officers who lavished enormous gifts, as tokens of their devotion to the temple. We have three inscriptions which record extensive gifts made by the famous chief Pañcanādivāṇan Nīlagaṅgarāiyan[4] and his son, Aruṇagiriperumāḷ Nīlagañgaraiyan.[5] The former is stated to have been responsible for the building of 'Thirunadaimāḷigai' of the temple.[6] Among other royal officers, who made gifts to the temple, was one Nandivarman, who gave sixty-seven *vēlis* of land to the temple at a time when its *dēvadāna* lands were dwindling and thus helped to keep up the temple services, which were about to be discontinued.[7]

There was in the premises of the temple, a *mata* or a monastery called *Tyāga Vinōdan Madam* (evidently called after the Cōla King Rājarāja, who had *Tyagavinodan* as his title) for the propagation and fostering of Śaivism. The above facts emphasise that Thirukkachūr was an influential citadel of Śaivism.

Coming to the information of political character that is furnished by the collection of inscriptions at Thirukkachūr,

1. 316 of 1919.
2. 54 of 1932–33.
3. 64 of 1932–33.
4. 271 and 275 of 1909. *Cf.* K. V. Raman: *The Yearly History of Madras Region*; Appendix II.
5. 50 of 1932–33; *M. E. R.* of 1932–33, p. 75.
6. 62 of 1932–33.
7. 290 of 1909; *M. E. R.* of 1909, p. 65.

we find that the latter was in Seṅguṅranāḍu[8] in Kaḷaṭṭūr Kōttam, one of the twenty four Kōṭṭams of Thoṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Another name of Thirukkachūr was Nittavinōdanallur,[9] evidently, called after Kulōttuṅga Cōla, who had the title - *Nittavinōdan.* The inscriptions at Thirukkachūr belong to many dynasties, like the Cōḷas (Kulōttuṅga I, II and III, Rājarāja III, Rājēndra I and II), Pāṇḍyas (Jatavarman Suṇḍra Pāṇḍya I, II and III, Māravarman Vīra Pāṇḍya II), the Telugu Cōdas, (Vijayagoṇḍagōpala), the Sambūvarāyas (Rājanārāyaṇa), and the Vijayanagara (Harihara II, Virupākṣa I, Narasiṅgarāya and Acyutharāya). The existence of the inscriptions of these kings, belonging to various dynasties, clearly testifies to the political vicissitudes through which Thirukkachūr, along with Thoṇḍaimaṇḍalam in general, had to pass.

More interesting is the information afforded by the inscriptions regarding certain aspects of economic and social life of the people of Tirukkachūr. Thus, in the time of Kulōttuṅga III, we have two remarkable instances of the people themselves taking the initiative and trying to save the situation in times of adversity. One such instance of this fact of self-help is recorded in Kulōttuṅga II's time. When the residents of Seṅguṅram felt the complete collapse in the irrigation of lands in Ambarpākkam, a *devadāna* of Tirukkachūr temple, was due to lack of proper water facilities, they excavated a tank out of the temple funds and put up a sluice to it and agreed to irrigate the lands of both the villages.[10] On another occasion, when Thirukkachūr was affected by severe drought, the villagers joined together and borrowed fifteen *kāsus* from the inhabitants of another village for the common use of the village. The creditor was given towards interest a piece of land, which was the common property of the villagers.[11] These incidents clearly show how the people in the villages without waiting for the help from the government moved in the matter in a concerted manner, and managed the situation in a spirit of perfect and dynamic co-operation.

8. 262 of 1909.
9. 54 of 1932–33; 264 of 1909.
10. 295 of 1909.
11. 279 of 1909.

Three other inscriptions of the same collection throw a flood of light on the nature of taxation then prevailing in the place. One of them gives us in a detailed way, the rates at which taxes were fixed on the cattle population (*Āṭṭraippāīṭam*) of the village.[12] The scale of taxes exempted the calves and the young ones of the sheep and goats, but imposed one *paṇam* per year on each herd of ten cows, each herd of five buffaloes and each herd of fifty sheep. This is only indicative of the exact relative value of the cows, buffaloes and sheep and also how this was taken into consideration by the government in fixing the taxes.

A second inscription informs us how special taxes were levied from the people on certain extraordinary occasions: for instance, when a new village was founded on the hill at Thirukkachūr for the merit of the king Narasiṅgarāya, the *kaikkōḷārs* and others of the village were asked to pay a tax of a quarter *paṇam* per month on each loom. This extra tax was collected evidently to meet the expenses connected with the founding of the village.

A case of over-taxation by the government is recorded. The result of this over-taxation was that certain cultivators had to resign their tenancy of a village of the Thirukkachūr temple, and the latter itself unable to pay the taxes (*pāṭṭirai*) sold away the village to some Kaikōḷa Mudaliar for six hundred *paṇam*.

Thus, the inscriptions found at Thirukkachūr throw very valuable light on the political, economic and social aspects of the life of the people of the place through the ages. They also reveal how this temple, like others in South India, is an embodiment of our age-long traditions, a centre of culture and scholarship and how the temple instilled and encouraged a spirit of solidarity and mutual help in the inhabitants of the place and round about.

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12. 307 of 1909.

VRATA' IN THE ṚGVEDA*

Dr. V. M. Apte, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.)

VRATA' – passages favouring the derivatiom of VRATA' from √Vṛt
The MA'HI – VRATA' passages

There are five *máhi - vrata* passages in the Ṛgveda, in which the compound is an epithet of Agni (I.45.3; X.115.3), of Varuṇa (VI.68.9) and of Soma (IX.97.9; 100.9). In the extended form: *mahā' - mahivrata*, it qualifies Soma (IX.48.2).

Since *máhi* means 'great, lofty or mighty,' the epithet *máhi-vrata*, a *bahuvrīhi* compound, ('of great, lofty or mighty *vratás*,' would be hardly intelligible, if *vrata*[84] is understood in the latter sense of 'vow, ordinance or command.' Fortunately the appropriate meaning is actually suggested by the passage: IX.100.9[ab] *tvám dyā'ṁ ca máhi-vrata, pṛthivī'ṁ cā'ti jabhriṣe* | (Trans.) "Thou (O Soma), of great *vratas* (as thou art), hast extended thyself over (and beyond) heaven and earth." Here *vrata* in *pāda* (a) is, as it were, explained in *pāda* (b), as 'the (cosmic) feat of extending over and beyond, heaven and earth.' Sāyāṇa explains the epithet as '*mahā-karman*,' thus clearly equating *vrata* to *karman*, i.e. 'act, deed, feat or exploit.' Similarly, when in VI.68.9[cd], Varuṇa, the *máhi-vrata* is described as "illuminating the two wide worlds, in his greatness (*mahinā'*), *vrata* impliedly means 'a (cosmic) feat or deed.' Sāyaṇa explains the compound *here also*, as '*mahā-karmā*.' In IX.48.2 again, Soma, "the subjugator of the defiant ones and the breaker of a hundred forts" receives the epithet: *mahā'-mahivrata* ('of outstandingly great vratas'), leaving no doubt about the meaning of *vrata* as 'deed or feat.' In my Monograph[85] "*All About Vratá in the Ṛgveda*," I have drawn attention to all these *máhi-vratá*

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* Continued from Volume XLIX, p, 182 (as the fifth instalment of the article).

84. Wherever this word '*vrata*' occurs in this article, it may please be read as *vratá*.

85. Published in the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute (=BDCRI), Vol. III. pp, 407–488.

passages and stated that for the word '*vrata*' in this epithet, anyone of the meanings:[86] (i) dominion, (ii) path or (iii) deed, exploit is admissible. Dr. Kane whose article in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIX Part 1 (1954) is *entirely made up of critical* (*line by line and word by word*) *comments on my Monograph*,[87] asserts that these are *separate* meanings and are quite unnecessarily suggested. Dr. Kane deliberately shuts his eyes to the patent fact that in the very beginning of my Monograph, I have formulated (after an examination of the entire Ṛgvedic usage) a series of semasiologically inter-related and naturally evolved meanings for *vrata*, which I (with Whitney) consider to be a word derived from the root, *vṛt*, 'to turn or proceed.' A linguistician would easily recognise these meanings as closely related links in that chain and not 'as separate' meanings, as Dr. Kane mistakenly supposes. When he says[88] that in expanding the first meaning, I interpolate the word 'mighty or resplendent, sway, sphere or jurisdiction,' one wonders whether Dr. Kane understands what 'interpolation' means. To present the cognate or alternative meanings of a word is *not to interpolate* them. When Dr. Kane further remarks[89] that the word *máhi* "hardly ever means 'resplendent' by itself but Prof. Apte had to bring in that sense to support his theory of *vrata* meaning tracks of luminaries," he indulges, as usual, in the deplorable game of *imputing motives*, not worthy of a fair-minded critic. Now, if I had *not* suggested 'resplendent,' as the meaning of *máhi*, *before* I wrote my Monograph on *vrata*, Dr. Kane's remark though in *bad* taste would have some justification. But before I wrote on *Vrata* in the third volume of the BDCRI, I had contributed to its second volume (*an year earlier*), an article entitled "Apropos of *maháḥ* in *mahó rāyé* and in other passages" and the main theme of this article is that *maháḥ* is the genitive singular of the substantive *máh* (n.), that this substantive

86. See Grassman's *Wörterbuch Zum Ṛgveda*, under *máhi-vrata* and *vratá*, (meanings: 7 to 11).

87. *JBBRAS*: Vol. 29. Pt. 1, p, 18, *ll*. 17-18.

88. *Ibid*. p, 18, *ll*, 19–20.

89. *Ibid*. p, 18, *ll*, 28-30.

has the meaning 'splendour or brilliance' along with the other meanings of 'greatness, abundance, eminence or might' and that the adjective *máhi* (like the adjectives: *máh mahá* and *mahás*) is a primary nominal derivative from the same root *mah* which underlies the substantive *máh.* Dr. Kane has certainly the right to reject the meaning 'resplendent' for *máhi* but he is guilty of perversion when he suggests that I improvised that meaning in desperation and on the spur of the moment in my Monograph on *vratá*, when, as a matter of fact, I had formulated that meaning in an article published one year earlier. Dr. Kane perpetrates another delibarate distortion of truth when he says that I have advanced in my Monograph the theory that *vrata* means 'tracks of luminaries,' when actually, the meaning 'track or path' (the *nakṣatra-patha*) is proposed by me in that Monograph as only *one* of the many semantically inter-related meanings of the word *vrata*, including the later meaning of 'vow or ordinance.'

The Priya'-Vrata' Passage (X.150.3[c])

ágne devā̆'n á vaha naḥ priyá-vratān.

(Trans.) "Bring along to us the gods to whom (their own) *vratas* are *dear*, O Agni." The *vratas* here simply cannot be the 'ordinances' followed by human worshippers. They are the *vratas of the gods themselves*, which are *dear* to them, in the sense, that they love to follow them, under the guidance of Agni, who in the next verse, X.150.4[a], is declared to have become their *Puróhita* (chief priest), leading them to the earthly sacrifice. Sūryá (the celestial counterpart of Agni) is similarly declared in VIII.101.12[c] to have become the divine *Puróhita* of the Devas (luminaries), presumably in their journey across the heavens along routes chalked out for Sūrya by Varuṇa (VII.87.1) or by the Ādityas (VII.60.4). In my Monograph, while discussing this *priyá-vrata* passage, I remark[90] that the prejudice stemming from the later notion that *vrata* is always something to be observed by mortals is responsible for translations[91] of '*priyá-*

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90. *B D C R I*: *op. cit.* p. 472.

91. The translation I had in mind is the one by R. T. H. Griffith in his "Hymns of the Ṛgveda translated with a popular commentary" (1897).

vratas' like '(those) whose laws we love.' This purely objective and impersonal reference to a different view is condemned by Dr. Kane[92] as criticising people without naming them. Evidently Dr. Kane's conception of fair criticism is that it should be as vituperative and personal as that in his own article which contains *nothing but* a line by line criticism of my Monograph, *wherein he mentions my name about 90 times in the course of 28 pages*. He further states quite unnecessarily that[93] *priyá-vrata* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound, thus obliquely and falsely hinting that I do not construe it as such. But oblique or direct misrepresentations of my views are the order of the day in his review of my Monograph which is presented by him as an article on *vrata*. Finally it may be pointed out that Dr. Kane shows no awareness of the patent fact that the Ṛgveda frequently refers to the *vratas* of ('of' in the sense of 'followed by') the gods and takes the word[94] wherever it occurs in the Ṛgveda to mean 'a vow or ordinance observed by a human devotee.'

The Puru-Vrata Passage: IX. 3.10

eṣá u syá puru-vrató jajñānó janáyannīṣaḥ |
dhā'rayā pavate sutáḥ ||

(Trans.) "This (Soma), the *multi-vrata* generating food (*even*) *while being born* flows on, in a stream, when pressed." Sāyaṇa explains *puru-vratáḥ* as '*puru-karmā*' and thus clearly equates *vrata* to *karman* meaning 'activity, action, act, feat, deed or exploit.' His commentary thus supports the contention advanced in my Monograph that the meaning 'activity' is one of the many semasiologically connected meanings of *vrata*, all favouring its derivation from the root *vṛt* and makes it parallel to the word '*vartana*' derived from the same root. The epithet depicts Soma as '(the hero) of numerous (*purú*) deeds or feats (*vratas*),' one of which is described in the next *pāda* (b) as the feat of *creating food* (even) *while being born*, the other feat [see *pāda* (c)] being, that

92. *JBBRAS*; *op. cit.* p, 18, *ll*, 33–34.

93. *Ibid.* p, 19, *l*, 1.

94. See his account of the meanings of the word in *JBBRAS*: *op. cit.* p, 9, *ll*, 15-29.

when pressed *down* (*sutáḥ*) it (springs *up* and) flows on in a (mighty) stream. *Vrata* has thus the same meaning here as in the passage VIII. 42.1 (already[95] cited), where the propping up of heaven and the laying out of the earth's expanse are *actually named* as the *vratas* of Varuṇa. In IV. 53.5, similarly, the *three* (cosmic) feats namely, the encompassment and stimulation of the *three* earths, firmaments and heavens by Savitṛ are *explicitly mentioned* as his *three vratas*. In II.27.8 and VII.5.4 again, the supporting and extension of heaven and earth are *pointedly called the vratas* of the Ādityas and Agni respectively.

The (cosmic) deeds or exploits of the (celestial) Soma are indeed, numerous (*purú*). He made the sun shine (IX.28.5). He generates the two worlds (IX.90.1). He upholds the wide earth and the high heavens (VI.47.4). *Manifold* similarly are the *vratas* (in the sense of 'ordinary acts or normal activity') of the (terrestrial) Soma or the Soma plant. When its shoots are crushed with stones, it squirts up its juice, which flowing on in a stream as it were, is poured over the strainer of sheep's wool. Filtered thus, it is mixed with water and finally forms three kinds of admixture with milk, sour milk and barley. Thus the epithet: *puru-vratá*, in the sense of 'one whose deeds or acts (whether cosmic or ordinary) are numerous' is eminently appropriate to Soma.

The above is the trend of my discussion of the *puru-vratá* passage in my Monograph.[96] Dr. Kane's criticism of the same is in execedingly bad taste, when he says:[97] "These two words *priyá-vrata* and *puru-vratá* do not at all help to solve the difficulties in Prof. Apte's interpretations and are rather *against his pet theory*" (Italics mine). In the first place, there are no difficulties in the interpretations I have given above, as they are in complete

95. Expressions like 'already cited' indicate that the passage has been cited before, either in the present or the *four* earlier instalments of the article.

96. *BDCRI*: *op. cit.* p, 475.

97. *JBBRAS*: *op. cit.* p, 19, *ll*, 8–10.

accord with those of *modern scholars*[98] and ancient commentators like Sāyaṇa. The difficulties are all in the imagination of Dr. Kane who harps to a tiresome extent on 'vow or ordinance (*observed by the human worshippers*)' as the meaning of *vrata* everywhere in the Ṛgveda. When a researcher has to propound a new thesis, he has to substantiate it with numerous illustrative passages. This marshalling of evidence is in the *discourteous language of Dr. Kane*, the pursuit of '*a pet* theory.' Further, one wonders what *new* point he tries to establish by affirming[99] the much too well-known double aspect of Soma, the celestial and the terrestrial (as a plant). This is an absolute commonplace of Ṛgvedic mythology. Dr. Kane translates the *puru-vratá* passage thus:[100] "Here is that Soma that lays *down many ordinances that when being produced generates food* and when extracted flows in a stream" (Italics mine). *This is indeed absurd.* Does the generating of food by Soma, while being produced, amount to the *laying down* of an ordinance *issued for others by him*? And is flowing on in a stream when extracted, another such ordinance? If so, how can these ordinances laid down by Soma be said to be followed by human worshippers, which is the meaning Dr. Kane assigns to *vrata* throughout the Ṛgveda? The correct interpretation (as pointed out above) is that 'generating food, even while being generated Himself' and 'squirting *up* in a stream when pressed *down*' are two of the many (*purú*) feats (*vratas*) of Soma.

A'dabdhavrata-pramatiḥ, as an epithet of Agni

In II.9.1^{c}, Agni is called *ádabdhavrata-pramatiḥ*. This epithet is translated by me[101] as 'superior-minded (*prámatiḥ*), owing to unbroken *vratas*.' The context throws light on the meaning of *vrata* here. II.9.1^{ab} states that Agni, the Hotṛ has sat himself down on His, *i.e.* the Hotṛ's seat, a routine that He never misses,

98. Dr. S. S. Bhawe gives the same interpretation of *puru-vratá* as I have given in his "*Soma Hymns translated and Annotated*" (Vol. I.) recently published.
99. *J B B R A S*: *op. cit.* p. 19, *ll.* 4–8.
100. *Ibid.* p. 19, *ll*, 3–4.
101. *B D C R I*: *op. cit.* p, 472.

in a srcrifice. Thus *vrata* means here " (Agni's) *routine duty* (of a visit to a sacrifice and the occupation there, of the Hotṛ's seat). " Dr. Kane's translation[102] of *prámatiḥ* as 'one whose wisdom is great' is essentially the same as mine and his rendering of *ádabdha* as 'unharmed' is substantially *not* different from mine, namely, 'unbroken.' Inspite of this general agreement between his renderings and mine, he indulges in the dirty game of imputing motives to me (the writer he is criticising) when he says:[103] " Prof. Apte *in order to make this word square up with his theory* of the meaning of *vrata* as tracks or movements, explains that this phrase (?) means that Agni unerringly occupies His own peculiar seat. " 'Tracks' and 'movements' are just *Two* out of the *Ten* semasiologically connected meanings of *vrata* (including the later one of 'vow') which I have established in my Monograph, as perfectly natural semantic evolutions from the root-meaning 'turning, movement or procedure,' holding as I do (with Whitney) that the word is derived from the root *vṛt* 'to turn, proceed.' Thus Dr. Kane's charge that I have a theory that *vrata* means *only* 'track or movement' is utterly false and disingenuous. His subsequent remark[104] that *ádabdha* does not mean 'unerring' but 'unassailable or unharmed' *insinuates* that 'unerring' is my rendering of *ádabdha*. This is a travesty of facts, typical of Dr. Kane the critic. It is pitiable because it springs from *his inability to understand* what I have written. *Ádabdha* has been rendered by me as 'unbroken' which is practically the same as his own rendering 'unharmed.' My statement that the epithet refers to Agni's unerring occupation of his own seat is an euphemism for the statement that the occupation of the Hotṛ's seat by Agni (II.9.1^{ab}) is 'unerring' because his *vratas* are *ádabdha* ('unbroken'). Dr. Kane's desperate search for anything in my Monograph that he can criticise (in order to make up his long

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102. *JBBRAS*: *op.cit.* p, 9, *ll*, 15–29. Dr. Kane fails to understand that my translation takes the epithet as one word. He drops the oblique and false hint that I do not translate it as one word.

103. *Ibid.* p. 9, *ll*, 18–21.

104. *Ibid.* p. 9, *l*, 22.

article) has evidently blurred his understanding. This is borne out also by his gibe:[105] "Prof. Apte accepts with avidity Oldenberg's suggestion that the word should be separated as *ádabdha-vrataḥ* and *prámatiḥ.*" This is a rank falsification, apart from the low taste shown in using the word 'avidity.' What I have said actually is this:[106]

"Oldenberg proposes very plausibly a separation of the compound......*This does not affect our view.*" Does this amount to avid *acceptance* of Oldenberg's suggestion? Dr. Kane says further:[107] "But he failed to notice that Oldenberg (*Noten*, Vol. I) discards this suggestion made by himself in *S.B.E.* Vol. 46." Since I did *not* accept Oldenberg's suggestion, the question of my noticing or failing to notice his (so-called) later repudiation (?) of it, simply does not arise. But the tragedy of the situation for Dr. Kane is that *he has failed to understand Oldenberg's German.* I give here a free but exact rendering "My idea (*S. B. E.* Vol. 46) regarding the separation of *ádabdhavrataḥ* from *prámatih* may not be pursued now; *nevertheless* the fate that *dáśa* has suffered by having to be separated from *prámatim* in the compound *dáśa-pramatim* (I.141.2) *must be noted* (*in favour of separation*)." This does *not* mean that Oldenberg discards his earlier suggestion regarding the splitting up of the compound.

The Interpretation of I. 144.1[ab]

I. 144.1[ab]: *éti pra hótā vratámasya māyáyordhvā'ṁ*
dádhānaḥ śúcipeśasaṁ dhíyam |

(Trans.) "The Hotṛ (*i.e.* Agni himself) goes forward along his *vrata* by his wonderful power, holding upward, the brightly-decorated prayer." The use of a verb of motion ($\sqrt{i}$) with *vrata* [*éti vratā'm*] decidedly favours the interpretation of *vrata* as a word of motion, *i.e.* as 'something gone over' as a customary routine, in the course of Agni's stepping forth to the ladles

105. *JBBRAS;* p, 9, *ll*, 24–26.
106. *BDCRI*: *op, cit.* p, 472
107. *JBBRAS*: *op. cit.* p, 9, *ll*, 26-28.

(third *pāda*). This meaning namely 'accustomed route or routine' is one of the meanings of *vrata*, pointed out in my Monograph.[108] Dr. Kane criticises my interpretation with the bluntly categorical and audacious statement:[109] "Prof. Apte is wrong in his interpretation of I. 144.1." Dr. Kane presumably is in possession of the key to Ṛgvedic exegesis, which apparently presents no problems to him. His *amours-propre* would be excusable, if he were boosting his own translation, but when it degenerates into such categorical pronouncements insulting to the writer he is criticising, he has to be shown that *it is he who is wrong* in his interpretation. He says: "It is *unnecessary* to take the word *hótṛ* as referring to Agni himself here." This (to say the least) is ludicrous. I.144 is a hymn to Agni and the context shows *indubitably* that the Hótṛ is Agni himself. Grassman in his Wörterbuch, lists about 150 '*hótṛ*' passages (including the present one) in which *hótṛ* in the singular refers to Agni. Oldenberg (*S.B.E.* Vol. 46) and Geldner hold the same view. Dr. Kane in his translation (which he certifies as 'the proper translation') renders *māyā'* as (the) 'wonderful (poetic) power' (of the hótṛ priest). This is not only an unauthorised rendering of the word *māyā'* but is also extremely funny in its application to the *human* priest. In the Ṛgveda, the word *māyā'* signifies[110] *not* 'poetic power' but occult or mysterious power (craft) applicable in a good sense to gods or in a bad sense to demons. In fact, the use of the phrase: *asya māyáyā* is itself a decisive argument for understanding Agni by the word *hótṛ*. So *it is Dr. Kane* (*not* Prof. Apte) *who is wrong in his interpretation of I.144.1.*

(*To be continued*)

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108. *BDCRI*: *op.cit.* p, 431.
109. *JBBRAS*: *op.cit.* p, 20, *ll*, 25–30.
110. See Macdonell: *Vedic Mythology*, p, 24.

THE YEARLY RECORDS OF THE MISSION OF CARUAR*

(Fathers of the Discalced Mission)

Written by Father P. F. Francis Xavier of St. Anne

Translated by S. Silva

Chapter XXXII of the years 1822 and 1823

The aforesaid D. Thomas Harris, the Collector, on account of his friendship with me of his own accord asked and obtained from the Supreme Magistrate Rs. 1000/- to be spent in this our Church, nevertheless with the obligation of rendering an account of the expenses. With this money I made windows and renewed the roof, as much as was possible (but the work did not come up to the goodwill and to the expenses) ; I also built a portico and many other things. Everything was completed in May 1822.

In September of the previous year, *viz.* 1821 some wicked Portuguese staying in Goa, who although endowed with magistracy or military offices by their own king, whose rights they were supposed to defend, were doing mischiefs against the king himself and his viceroy. They bribed a few soldiers by bestowing some money and nocturnal drunkenness to be helpers to their perfidy. With them drunk as helpers they attacked the viceroy who was sleeping peacefully in his bed, made him captive and afterwards threw him into exile. With the same soldiers acclaiming in the very same night, they occupied the Republic to destroy it. But did not possess for long the command badly got, through some other Portuguese and the sons of Portuguese they were ousted, and indeed by the same means, namely by force of bribed soldiers, in the beginning of December of the same year.

Continued from Volume LI, page 75.

Hence almost an infinite number of iniquities of all kinds arose, especially private enmities and vengeances on innocent men not less than on guilty ones. Hence it happened that many were forced to go into exile, both among the innocent and the guilty. Among the innocent people so wantonly persecuted there was a certain excellent Mr. Aloysius Emmanuel Correa de Mello, from Lagos, a city of Algarbia, and Pro-Tribune of the soldiers. Forced into exile by the most unjust law in May 1822, he came to us to ask for a refuge in our house in which having been received kindly, he remained for 4 to 5 days until he was recalled to Goa.

After a short time, *viz.* in the month of August, there appeared here yet another, a Centurian (a Captain) whose name is kept secret for the sake of honour, born in Goa of Portuguese blood. He also came here for the sake of refuge, for he had run away from Goa where he was being sought for to be killed by those who were acting tyrannically. The reason of such a persecution was perhaps unjust.

But he was rightly being sought after, because he had been the principal instrument of the first conspirators in the rebellion. He also was received politely and remained with us for a month, and afterwards he stayed two months in a certain small house in the compound of our Church.

But a little after the beginning of September a third guest out of the fugitives came here. This was the Very Reverend Father Joseph Marianus Cordoso, a secular priest of Candolim, in the province of Bardes, who being Vice-Parish Priest in the village called Panjim gave serious offence to some in power. These eagerly desiring vengeance accused him calumniously of sedition against the ruling tyrant. They themselves were accusers and at the same time witnesses also, and they themselves would have been judges (very unbiassed indeed) unless their accused had escaped by flight. The runaway, therefore, came here and remained for fourteen months with us. He was a man excellent, pious, sincerely grateful and mindful of the benefits received.

On the 28th of the same month of September, D. Emmanuel of St. Caldinus, Archbishop of Goa[42] once member of the province of the reformed Franciscans, which they call "Arbida" in Portugal entered this our small house. He was sent as Bishop with royal assent from his country Lisbon to the island of China which they call Macao, which he governed for a short time. From here he was transferred to Goa as the Coadjutor Bishop with the right of succession to D. Emmanuel of St. Catherine, whose mention has been made in Chapter XXI and also elsewhere. In fact at his death he succeeded to the Archepiscopate of Goa in February 1812. His harsh and unmanageable frame of mind was the reason why he was commonly despised. He got the enmities of almost innumerable men both from the clergy and the persons of rank and also from all other Religious Orders even when he was Coadjutor Bishop. Became Archbishop, not having changed his ways, that contempt and enmities did not cease although they were a little occult on account of the fear of his power. But this fear entirely disappeared when by the aforesaid factions everything divine and human was confused and the authority of the church itself was little esteemed in all directions; nay it was destroyed in words and deeds, both by those who governed the republic and by all those who did not understand the precept in the gospel "upon the chair of Moses have written the scribes and Pharisees; all things therefore whatsoever they say to you observe and do, but according to their works do ye not."

Hence it happened that both the contempt for the Archbishop was spread and the greed for vengeance clearly appeared. Meanwhile a rumour had been circulated (whether justly or unjustly (I do not know) that the Archbishop was aware of and a partner in the first conspiracy and that at present was endeavouring to do something against the tyrants, among whom some were his enemies. They seeking plausible pretexts for vengeance most willingly adhered to that rumour to ruin

42. Emmanuel of St. Caldinus, O. S. Fr. Consecrated Bishop of Macao (China) on 27th March 1803, transferred to Goa as Coadjutor Archbishop with right of succession on 20 August 1804; Goan Archbishop in February, 1812; died on 15th July, 1831.

him. Having known these things, being about to be imprisoned, the Archbishop secretly fled together with many of his household, both ecclesiastic and laymen, and came to Sunkeri in order to obtain safety in our small house here. Here he was received most courteously according to his ecclesiastic dignity and my hospitality. He stayed for a full year and twenty days as will be said afterwards.

On 27th April 1823 the above mentioned Archbishop with the consent of the Vicar Apostolic promoted to the priesthood Emmanuel Pacheco about whom mention has been made at the end of Chapter XXX. On the same day and also on the 30th of that month he administered confirmation to many of ours and also to others from Anjediva, Chitacol, Chendien, etc.

Our small house seemed to be too small for such a great guest and his numerous household and also for those who came to see him from the land of the Portuguese. Therefore, he very often showed his desire to me that the house should be extended, chiefly since the end of his exile was not appearing at hand. I did according to his wish. I extended the house to the east at the expense of Rs. 600/- and all this work was over before the monsoon of this year.

But I could not win over his intractable nature by any service, by any kindness, by any expense; hence it happened that he roused more than once dissensions and quarrels. These things were the reason why he thought of building a house for himself and a small church in the village Chitacul[43] across the

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43. *Translator's Note* :

This is the foundation of the Mission of Chitakul or Sadashivgad. Prior to this there was no church in this village and Catholics had to attend the Church at Shiveshwar or Sunkeri. Archbishop Galdino not only constructed this Church and house but purchased a large property in Halge Jug for the maintenance of the Priest and the Church for a sum of six *Varahas* (Rs. 24/-). The document of purchase is still preserved in the Archives of the Church. Years later there was a good deal of trouble between the owner of this plot of ground and the Parish Priest. The owner claimed that he was an Ardhclider and entitled to get half the fruits from the trees in the land. This led to serious litigation which continued for many years. At last in the year 1922 through the intervention of S. Silva, Advocate, a compromise was arrived at between the Vicar General, Very Reverend Father Thomas D'Souza, and the owner of the property, Alli Saheb. Since then there is no trouble and the Church is the absolute owner of the property. As the Church was too small for the growing Catholic population, a new and a spacious Church was built on another site and it was blessed by Archbishop Don Valente *the first Patriarch* of the East, in the year 1912.

river. In fact in the rainy season his plans were to my greatest joy completed. Finally on 18th October 1823 he departed from here, escaped, got out of hand broke forth and betook himself to his new residence in Chitacol. There he remained up to April of the following year, that is until by his entreaties he obtained permission to return to Goa.

Chapter XXXIII from 1824 to 1831

Nothing worthy of record occurred in 1824. The Most Illustrious and Reverend D. Peter of Alcantara, Bishop and Vicar Apostolic, had already in 1815 obtained the permission of the Holy See to choose as Coadjutor to himself from out of the Apostolic Missionaries anyone he preferred and to consecrate him as the Bishop of Dolecin. But since all the existing missionaries of that time were refusing the burden, he was not able to use his permission until 1824. At the beginning of this year, the Most Reverend Maurelius Stabellini, a Carmelite, not Discalced of "Mitigation" landed in Bombay, again sent here with the title of Missionary Apostolic. With the same title he had lived in India, as I have said in Chapter XXVII. Let that chapter be recalled to mind. In November 1824 the abovementioned Vicar Apostolic chose him as his Coadjutor and consecrated him with the title of Bishop of Dolecin.

On the 1st of January 1825 the Vicar Apostolic D. Peter of Alcantara arrived here on his way to visit the Coorg Mission and after two days resumed the journey. This is the unique event worthy of mention during the whole course of the year 1825 and 1826.

21st June 1827 was a day full of horror. After very many days of heavy showers and most violent rain, finally the roof of our Church gave way and the whole roof fell down. Although it was in the morning and at the very same hour in which usually mass had to be said yet through the providence of the merciful God it happened that no one was then in the Church. Hence nobody was hurt. From that day up to end of the rains we celebrated mass on the altar erected in the domestic portico on

Sundays and feast days and on the week days in the sanctuary. After the rains we erected a shed for this in front of the Church door.

On account of pecuniary difficulties I would by no means have been able to repair the roof of the Church unless God through His mercy had not brought help. I set forth my case and poverty to our Collector, D. John Babington. He from his benevolence towards me obtained for me a sum of Rs. 800/- from the Supreme Magistrate. Relying on this help I was able to roof again the Church and raise from the foundations new columns as they can be seen now, before the rains began in 1828. Thus it happened that after the disaster we had a stronger Church without any expense on our part, but solely through my great diligence and most heavy work.

I have learnt by much experience that the missionary is not able to attend to the cultivation of that marshy land (which they call *sire gajan*) of which I spoke in Chapter XXVIII and the following. It exacts too much care and too extraneous to the priestly office. Therefore, regarding this land I made an agreement with John Pacheco who was residing in Sunkeri, namely, I gave it to him under the title of perpetual lease with the burden of paying annually Rs. 42½/- to the missionary staying here according to the time and moreover of maintaining the marshy land intact in condition of cultivation at his own expense.

In the year 1830 on 20th September, I bought a small farm called Zambli Xito for Rs. 36/- situated in this very village of Sunkeri. This was almost abandoned at that time. Afterwards I built there a hut, surrounded it with hedge and planted coconut and other trees. The purchase was made in the name of the Church.

Chapter XXXIV about the year 1831

The Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Maurilius Stabellini was appointed for the time being Vicar Apostolic of Malabar from his office of Coadjutor of the Vicar Apostolic of the Mughal. But not much later an infinite number of quarrels arose between

him and the Malabar Christians[44] on account of whom many complaints were sent to the Apostolic See. Finally Gregory XVI, who from his Prefecture of the Sacred congregation of Propaganda Fide had been recently raised to the Pontificate, judged that D. Maurilius Stabellini should be removed from Malabar and another one should be elected as Bishop Vicar Apostolic in his place and lo! the election fell on me. Lest aware of my weakness I might refuse such a great burden, as I had done the first time, the Supreme Pontiff in virtue of holy obedience commanded me to accept these dignities.

The Bulls or Apostolic Briefs by which I was constituted Bishop of Amata and Vicar Apostolic of Malabar were to be carried to India by two of our Religious who were sent by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide to be missionaries, one in Bombay and the other in Malabar. But when they had arrived in Arabia both of them died; thus it seemed good to God. Only by divine providence it happened that some of their Italian companions having taken care of their things brought them faithfully to Bombay to be handed over to D. Peter of Alcantara, Bishop and Vicar Apostolic. Thus the above mentioned Bulls having reached safe and sound from his hands were given to me.

By the vigour of these Bulls I was consecrated Bishop of Amata in the Church or our Chapel of St. Anthony at Bombay by the aforesaid Most Reverend Peter of Alcantara, assisted by the Most Reverend Milesio Prendergast[45] the Bishop of Century of the Order of the Mitigated Carmelites and by the Reverend Father

44. The cause of these quarrels between the Vicar Apostolic D. Maurilius Stabellini and the Christians of Malabar was that this Vicar Apostolic admitted to be promoted to priesthood in the Seminary of Verapoly young men from the despised caste of fishermen.

45. Milisius Pendergast born on 1775 in Ireland (Dublin); Provincial of the Ireland province; nominated Bishop of Century in Partibus and Vicar Apostolic of Malabar on 18th September 1818; came to Malabar 2nd January, 1821; dismissed from the office of Vicar 5th May 1827; retired to Bombay where he remained till 1838; then he went to Brazil where he died on 1844.

Aloysius Maria of St. Theresa[46] a Discalced Carmelite Apostolic Missionary of Mughal on 14th December, 1831.[47]

I lived in this Mission for about thirty-one years. During this whole period four hundred baptisms were administered here, among which fifty-nine of people came from infidelity both from adults and infants; one hundred twenty-six marriages were blessed and two hundred four died. Tomorrow which will be the First Day of 1832, God permitting I shall start from here, whether to return hither according to my desire or not God alone knows it.

Given at Sunkeri on 31st December 1831.

Fr. Francis Xavier of St. Anne.

(*Concluded*)

46. Aloysius Maria of St. Theresa (Ferdinand Fortini) C. D. of the Roman Province; Born 15th November 1795 in Rome; professed 16th July 1816; assigned to the mission of Bombay 1st October 1825; elected by the Vicar Aposolic of the Mughal by D Peter de Alcantara of St. Anthony as his Coadjutor with the right of succession and confirmed by the Holy See, 8th August 1837; succeeded as Vicar Apostolic on 1840; died in Bombay 6th January, 1848.

47. It seems a slip of the pen it must be on 4th December, 1831.

A SHORT HISTORY OF KHANDESH
1382 - 1601

Dr. Mahdi Husain

Chapter 1

PRELUDIAL

The northernmost part of the Deccan table-land bounded by the Satpura hills to the north, Berar in the east, the Narbada to the north-west, the Ajanta hills to the south, Gujarat on the west and the Tapti in the centre or the principal part of this area comprising the southern Tapti valley was named Khandesh in the beginning of the Fifteenth century. This area commands the only route from Hindustan through the Satpura range into the Deccan and contains hilly towns and forts like Baglana, Khandwa, Gawilgarh, Elichpur, Asirgarh and Burhanpur. Some of these being associated with the remote past of the epic age,[1] Khandesh came to be looked upon as a time-honoured name — a fact which enabled it to eclipse Dandesh, *i.e.* the country of Daniyal — the new name given in 1601 A.D./ 1010 *Hij*. by the Mughul Emperor Akbar in compliment to his

1. The belt of territory containing the basic parts of Khandesh, namely, Thalner, Karona, Laling, Asirgarh, Baglana, Antur, Kherla and some portion of Berar — is referred to in the Purāṇas: *vide*. Ward W: *A view of the History, Literature and Religion of the Hindoos*, Vol. I, pt, ii, p, 558-566, Serampore, 1815.

   Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Cantos, LIV-LX.

   Berar with some of its parts lying in the Satpura range and on the Tapti and thus running into Khandesh finds mention in the *Mahābhārata* under the name of Vidarbha.

   It is said that the early history of Khandesh extends from 150 B.C. (*I.G.* Vol. XV, p, 228). *The Ain-i-Akbari* says: 'In ancient times this territory was a waste and but few people about this fortress of Asir.' Aśvatthama, son of Drōṇa, a hero of the *Mahābhārata* is said to have built a shrine in this principality which later became known as Khandesh. (Jarret and Sarkar: *A.A.* Vol. II, p. 234)

third son Daniyal.[2] Dandesh continued merely as the official name in the government records as long as the Mughul Empire lasted. Afterwards it was completely forgotten and Khandesh which had never been completely replaced was retained. Firishta[3] would have us believe that Khandesh was a Rajput state with Asirgarh as its principal fortress before Ala-ud-din Khalji's invasion of Deogir (1294 A.D./694 *Hij.*). He says that the Rāja of Asirgarh suffered defeat at the hands of the Khalji conqueror on his return from Deogir. But Firishta's statement lacks confirmation.[4] The Alai historians[5] mention Elichpur only in connection with Ala-ud-din Khalji's campaign from Chanderi to Deogir. It appears that Firishta has ante-dated Khandesh having mistaken it for a geographical name. In fact Khandesh is synonymous with Khandom and consists of two words—*Khan* and *desh*—meaning 'country of the Khans.' Such came to be the name of the Tapti region when Nasir Khan, son and successor of Rāja Ahmad the *muqti*' of Thalner was recognized as Khan by Ahmed Shah I of Gujarat about 1417 A.D./820 *Hij.* Nasir Khan is considered as the first king, not the founder, of the Faruqi dynasty of Khandesh.

Abdullah Muhammad, otherwise known as Hajji-ud-Dabir, the famous author of the *Arabic History of Gujarat*[6] lived in Khandesh during the last quarter of the Sixteenth century in the service of Abdul Karim Fulad Khan, one of the Amirs of Rāja Ali Khan and Bahadur Shah, the last two rulers of the Faruqi dynasty. He says[7] that Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah, the first king

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2. This fact is recorded in the inscription at *Buland Darwaza* at Fatehpur Sikri.
3. *T.F.* (Bombay,) Vol. II, pp, 541-542; and *I.G.* Vol. XV, p. 228 and *T.F.* (Bombay,) Vol. I, p. 166.
4. *I.e.* Amir Khusrau, Ziya-ud-din Barani, Isami, Ibn Battuta, Shams-Siraj Afif, Yahya bin Ahmad do not mention Khandesh.
5. *I.e.* Amir Khusrau and Ziya-ud-din Barani.
6. *I.e. Zafar ul-Walihi bi Muzaffar wa Alih*
7. *Ibid.* Vol. 1, p, 52.

and founder of the Bahmani dynasty, had found an ally in a man called Muhammad whose descendants later became kings of Asir.[8] Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah gave his sister in marriage to Muhammad and employed him as his minister under the title of Khwaja Jahan. Khwaja Jahan had a son named Ahmad who succeeded him in his post as minister after the death of Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah (1358 A.D./760 *Hij.*). Ahmad disagreed with his royal master Muhammed Shah I, the Second Bahmani king, and resigned his post. He went to Daulatabad where he became a disciple of the local saint Shaikh Zain-ud-din. Shaikh Zain-ud-din addressed him as 'Rāja Ahmad.' Considering the epithet 'Rāja' as a good omen Ahmad styled himself thenceforth as Rāja Ahmad. Then he went to Dehli and entered the service of prince Muhammad Shah son of Firoz Shah. One day the prince went out hunting and on his return ate gleefully to his satisfaction from the palatable hunt dishes and lay down. Afterwards he felt thirsty and demanded water. His attendant gave him water to drink without cooling it. The prince drank but little, his thirst being still unquenched. Immediately Rāja Ahmad served him with cool water out of his own jar. The prince quaffed it and was satisfied. He then asked Rāja Ahmad to choose his reward. Rāja Ahmad said that he wanted the village of Thalner then known as Karvand lying on the Tapti. The same was granted. Later on Rāja Ahmad left Dehli for his estate of Thalner where he asserted his independence (1382 A.D./784 *Hij.*).[9]

Since Muhammad Shah son of Firoz Shah did not ascend the throne until 1389 A.D./792 *Hij.* the above donor was probably Firoz Shah himself. Firishta, who was considered prior to the discovery[10] of Abdullah Muhammad's *Arabic History of Gujarat* as the only source of information about Khandesh clearly mentions Firoz Shah not only as the donor but also as the master and employer of Rāja Ahmad. However, his account differs from that of Abdullah Muhammmad's in many respects. He has for instance, Malik Rāja instead of Rāja Ahmad. According to him

8. *I.e.* Asirgarh.
9. This is the purport of the Arabic text of the *Zafar ul-Walihi bi Muzaffar wa Alih*: Vol. 1, p. 52.

some *amirs* of the Faruqi house tracing their descent from Umar Faruqi, the second caliph flourished at the courts of Ala-ud-din Khalji and Muhammad Bin Tughluq successively. A scion of this house, Khan Jahan Faruqi, by name died in the early years of Firoz Shah's reign leaving behind a minor son commonly known as Malik Rāja. On attaining his majority Malik Rāja entered the royal service first as a horseman and subsequently as a huntsman in which capacity he pleased the king so much that the latter admitted him to the select body of slaves called *Ghulam-i-khass*. By virtue of his new duty as a special slave (*Ghulam-i-khass*) he attended the king even in the course of his travels and was with him in the Gujarat campaigns. One day while pursuing an animal in the course of hunting amidst the thickets of a jungle in Gujarat the sultan was cut off from his party and was stranded. Completely exhausted and riding a jaded horse he roamed about when he sighted at some distance a horseman with a pack of hounds. He advanced to him and enquired if he had with him any kind of food. This horseman was no other than Malik Rāja who presented his royal master some roasted meat. This took place during Sultan Firoz Shah's detour from Sind to Gujarat across the Rann of Cutch in 1370 A.D./ 772 *Hij*. and the Sultan granted him as *iqta'* the villages of Thalner and Karond[10] (Karvand). This new *muqti'* raided the neighbouring territory of Baglana then held by Rāja Bharji and obtained enormous wealth which he sent to the Sultan of Dehli together with an assurance from Rāja Bharji for the remittance of an annual tribute. In recognition of this, Sultan Firoz Shah awarded Malik Rāja the title of *Sipah Salar*[11] of Khandesh and the latter was able to maintain a standing army of 12,000 horse. Afterwards Malik Rāja established his sphere of influence over some parts of Jajnagar and Gondwana whence he realized large sums of money by way of *kharaj*. He became so powerful and famous that he was able to make friendly alliances not only with the Hindu rulers of the above territories but also with the Muslim kings of Malwa and Gujarat.[12]

10 Literally commander of the army; here it stands for *hakim*, *i.e.* governor.

11 *T.F.* (Bombay,) Vol. I.

12 *I.A.* Vol. XLVII, 1918, pp. 113, 141 and 178 ff.

To the above story of Malik Rāja culled from the *Tarikh-i-Firishta* has been added by some modern writers[13] as a declaration of independence on his part stating that he 'ceased to remit tribute to Dehli' with effect from the year 1382 A.D./784 *Hij.* But Firishta's substantial account which does not contain the above remark is not free from historical inaccuracies.[14] It must be studied in the light of the information given by the *Arabic History of Gujarat*[15] and the *Burhan-i-Ma'aisir*.[16] A scientific study thus made has enabled the missing links to emerge and the full story has shaped itself as follows: Rāja Ahmad, a partisan of Bairam Khan Mazandarani, the rebellious governor of Daulatabad, was inspired by the saint Shaikh Zain-ud-din of Daulatabad

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13 (i) Firishta urges that Khan Jahan Faruqi was an *amir* who flourished at the courts of Alaud-din-Khalji and Muhammad-bin-Tughluq, but this lacks confirmation.

(ii) Malik Rāja appears to have been a concoction, 'Rāja Ahmad' as given by Hajji-ud-Dabir tends to carry conviction.

(iii) Firishta says that Sultan Firoz Shah was pleased to bestow on Malik Rāja the *mansab* of 2,000. He would have us believe that there existed a kind of *mansabdari* system during the reign of Sultan Firoz Shah of Dehli. This has not been confirmed.

(iv) Firishta urges that the area of Khandesh was included in the empire of Firoz Shah of Dehli. But this is extremely doubtful. The probability is that the area of Khandesh was already included in the Bahmani kingdom which had been formed in 1347 A.D. five years before the accession of Firoz Shah to the throne of Dehli.

14 *The Arabic History of Gujarat* or the *Zafar ul Walihi bi Muzaffar wa Alih* was edited and published by Sir Denison Ross in 1910. A useful study of its piece connected with Khandesh has been made by Sir Wolseley Haig in the *I.A.* Vol. XLVII, 1918. pp. 113-124.

15 The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* of Ali ibn Aziz Ullah Tabatabai which is a history of the Nizam Shahi Dynasty of Ahmadnagar gives an account of Ala-ud-din Hasan Shah Bahmani, founder of the Bahmani dynasty. It was written in 1595 A.D. 1004 *Hij.* but it was brought to notice in 1900 A.D. when it was published by Major King J. S. under the title of the 'History of the Bahmani dynasty.'

16 *H.D.—A.H.G.* Vol. I. pp. 52-87

to relinquish the service of Muhammad Shah I, the second Bahmani king. Since the relations between Bairam Khan Mazandarani and his brother-in-law, the said Muhammad Shah Bahmani, had become strained, Bairam Khan having pitted himself against the latter and claiming the whole or part of the Bahmani kingdom, Rāja Ahmad joined hands with Bairam Khan. In 1370–71 A.D./772–73 *Hij.* while Sultan Firoz Shah was in Gujarat Bairam Khan sent him word through Rāja Ahmad inviting the Sultan to recover the Deccan. The Sultan was busy in his Sind expedition in the course of which he had made a detour in Gujarat. He did not accept Bairam's invitation but retained Rāja Ahmad in his personal retinue as *Ghulam-i-khass*. In this capacity one day Rāja Ahmad rendered the sultan or his pet son Muhammad, later Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah, the much-needed service reported with some variations by both Abdullah Muhammad and Firishta. As a reward of his own choice Rāja Ahmad obtained the village of Thalner on the Tapti which served as the capital of the Khandom until subsequently Burhanpur was founded. Bairam Khan Mazandarani was ultimately defeated by Muhammad Shah Bahmani and Rāja Ahmad who was one of his many supporters fled by about 1370 A.D./772 *Hij.* from the scene of fight near Paithan to his estate of Thalner. There he consolidated his resources until the convenient hour for declaring his independence came by about the year 1382 A.D./784 *Hij.* Whether this declaration of independence amounted to a revolt against the Emperor of Dehli or was a measure intended against the Bahmani king is a problem now resolved with the help of Abdullah Muhammad[17] and Faizi Sirhindi.[18] Their testimony combined with the circumstantial

17 The manuscript of Faizi Sirhindi's *Akbar Nāma* being not available here I have used Elliot's English translation; see *E.D.* Vol. VII, pp. 137 ff. It should be noted that this work written early in the Seventeenth century and supposed to have been a copy of its prototype the *Akbar Nāma* of Shaikh Abul Fazl occasionally strikes an independent note.

18 Faizi Sirhindi's narrative from which the above extract has been taken gives neither the name of Rāja Ahmad nor that of Nasir Khan, nor does it mention the term Bahmani. But the language used points unmistakably to the above names

evidence points to the conclusion that it was primarily intended against the Bahmani king. Faizi Sirhindi, author of the *Akbar Nāma*, exhibits Rāja Ahmad as a soldier in Bahmani service and says that the latter was so aggrieved having incurred the displeasure of his master that he left the Bahmani dominion and went to Khandesh — a principality then held by Hindu *zamindars* and chiefs. There he chose to live in a certain village where he had witnessed the striking scene of a hare getting the upper hand in the course of a fight with a dog. He liked the soil which produced such a courageous hare and requested the *zamindar* concerned to permit him to settle there. The *zamindar* having refused permission Rāja Ahmad seized the village with the assistance of the king of Dehli. He also occupied some neighbouring villages and maintained a standing army.[19]

It may be recalled that the region of Khandesh had been the hot bed of seditions of the *amiran-i-sadah* since 1340 A.D./741 *Hij.* as is evident from Barani and Isami. Firishta mentions this in connection with the political disorders of the year 1347 A.D./748 *Hij.* which culminated in the establishment of the Bahmani Kingdom with Daulatabad as the centre. In the course of his narrative of the said year he says, 'Imad-ul-mulk' the governor of Khandesh and Berar returned to Gujarat and no part of Khandesh except the western districts of Nandurbar and Sultanpur remained under the Sultan of Dehli.' This shows that the whole of Khandesh had become part of the Bahmani Kingdom as early as 1347 A.D. The records of the region of Firoz Shah of Dehli including the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Barani and of Afif as well as the *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi* make no mention of Khandesh as part of his empire nor does the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*. But a legend to that effect arose as it appears from the *Arabic History of Gujarat*[20] and the *Tarikh-i-Firishta*.[21]

and the context which leaves no doubt as to their identity tends to confirm Firishta's story about the antecedents of Rāja Ahmad, about Nasir Khan's capture of Asirgarh and about his establishment as an independent ruler of Khandesh.

19 *H.D.—A.H.G.* Vol. I, p. 87

20 *T.F.B.* Vol. I.

21 According to the advice of this patron saint, Bairam Khan

Frustrated by the strong opposition of Shaikh Zain-ud-din who had inspired the rebellion of Bairam Khan Mazandarani the Bahmani king now set himself to pacifying[23] the angry saint and neglected Bairam Khan and Rāja Ahmad as 'vanquished' fugitives. Rāja Ahmad bided his time at Thalner and seized the earliest opportunity to strengthen his position by allying himself with Malwa. He gave his daughter in marriage to Prince Hoshang, son and successor of Dilawar Khan Khalji of Malwa whose daughter he secured in marriage for his own son Nasir. Strengthened by such matrimonial alliances Rāja Ahmad subsequently raided the neighbouring districts of Nandurbar and Sultanpur[22] but was defeated by Muzaffar I of Gujarat who pursued the aggressor into the domain of Thalner and laid siege to it. Before long Muzaffar raised the siege and peace was made in 1394 A.D./797 *Hij.* Henceforth Rāja Ahmad abstained from war and led a retired life occupying himself with the promotion of agriculture and architecture until his death in April 1399 A.D./*Sha'ban* 801 *Hij.* He was buried at Thalner in a mausoleum which he had constructed in his lifetime.

Sheikh Zain-ud-din, the above mentioned saint of Daulatabad, is said to have presented him with a robe called the 'robe

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Mazandarani fled with one of his supporters, Kumbh Dev, to Gujarat. The fugitives had already crossed the Gujarat frontier before king Muhammad Shah I could arrange for their pursuit. He gave up the idea of pursuit intending to punish the saint Shaikh Zain-ud-din whom he had reason to consider as the arch enemy. He summoned him to the royal court but the saint refused to attend and censured the king for his un-Islamic habits. The king commanded him to quit Daulatabad. The saint took his mat and retired to the tomb of his preceptor Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Gharib in a quarter of the city of Daulatabad and defied the king. At last the king made peace with the saint. But the angry saint was pacified only when the king had repented of his past conduct and promised for the future to leave off drinking wine, to close the wine shops in the kingdom and to behave according to the ethics of Islam.

22 The districts of Nandurbar and Sultanpur were a bone of contention between Gujarat and Khandesh almost in the same way as the Raichur Doab was between the Bahmani kingdom and Vijayanagara.

of desire and assent' which remained as a trophy with the Faruqi dynasty thus founded. It was handed down among his successors one after another until the extermination of this dynasty at the hands of the Mughul emperor, Akbar, in 1600 A.D./ 1009 *Hij*.

(*To be continued*)

FATHER FRANCIS XAVIER OF ST. ANNE

(A Biographical Note)

SEVERINE SILVA

Among the foreign missionaries that set their foot on the soil of India, and worked in India, there are two that interest Canara and who deserve special mention. They are Abbé Dubois[1] of the Missions Étrangérès of Paris and Father Francis Xavier of St. Anne of the Order of Discalced Carmelites. Both these priests arrived in Canara at a time when the economic conditions of the Christian community were at the lowest ebb and both worked with indefatigable zeal among them.

Father Francis Xavier of St. Anne was born in Celle in the province of Liguria (Italy) on 25th April 1771 in the highly respectable and ancient family of Pesscetti. In the middle ages, this family held the lordship of a town in Sicily. Landholders by profession, this illustrious family has conferred credit on Forum and Science. A nephew of Father Francis was Notary and Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Genoa. Another nephew was chief physician to the hospitals attached to it and a third a lawyer. Two of his maternal uncles were Bishops, *viz*. Mgr. Lawrence J. Beali D.D , LL.D. was Bishop of Ventinglia in the Duchy of Genoa decorated with the Grand Cross of SS. Maurice and Lazarus and Almones to His Sardeivan Majesty Ventinglia. This diocese reckoned upwards of 100 parishes and about 80,000 souls. The other cousin brother of the late Mgr. Raphael Beali was Bishop of Albenga in the Duchy of Genoa, an equally considerable See with about 164 parishes and 85,000 souls.

Born in the womb of fortune and luxury, the young lad Raphael (for that was his name) completed with general admiration his courses in humanity in the College of the Order of Discalced Carmelites at Genoa; passed philosophy and theology with honours; and was in the Seminary of St. Pancracias for some time.

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1. The life of Abbe Dubois is a chapter in the history of India by itself.

He took the religious habit of the Carmelites and assumed the name of Francis Xavier of St. Anne in the St. Anne's Church of Genoa on 23 May 1790. It is here that he attended to the acquisition of the most solid virtues and fulfilled the numerous duties of his state.

Quite confident in himself, he at last communicated to his superiors his desire of devoting himself to the salvation of souls in India. His proposal was duly approved by his superiors and he set out for Rome where he received from the Propaganda the necessary faculties in March 1798.

From that day to the day he arrived in Sunkeri in India, the difficulties he had to encounter were not only formidable, but to an ordinary human being were almost insurmountable. Hardly had he received the faculties in Rome he was compelled to quit the city with haste by the Provisional Government which the French had then established in the Metropolis. He first repaired to Sienna to pay his homage to the immortal Pope Pius VI who was then in that city. The Pope gave him his apostolic blessing. From Sienna he came to Leghorn where he set sail to the Levant in a Raqusa ship (which was neutral in regard to the powers then at sea). Hardly had he set sail when he was captured by the pirates with French orders and transported to Porto Terraqo in Elba. After a detention of a few days he was permitted by the French Consul (who declared the capture illegal) to prosecute his voyage to Cyprus. When not far from Malta he was arrested by the Commander of the French frigate, Arlenuise. The reason was that he might not have an opportunity of communicating the intelligence of the great naval armament under Napolean Buonaparte to the Egyptians. He was taken to Malta where with sorrow he witnessed the fall of the celebrated Order of Knights in that island and the erection of the tricolour on its almost impregnable fortress. Father Francis could not land at Cyprus. Beirut was on fire and the entire coast completely blockaded. At this juncture this holy priest intrepidly threw himself into a Turkish fishing boat and for a small amount got himself landed at the foot of the famous Carmel in the possession of the Turks.

This natural courage strengthened by the divine spirit took him to St. Jean de Acre where he was received with warmth by the sanguinary Pacha who advised Father Francis to put on the Levantine costume for exempting him from the fury of the Turks already exasperated against the Europeans. There he was robbed of all the money in hand. The holy priest again got admittance to the despotic Pacha. He explained to him his misfortune and entreated his protection. The despot was moved to pity, and gave to Father Francis a bodyguard and a Levantine dress, and 50 piastres (Rs 5/-) for his journey to Aleppo. Here he found a missionary confrere of his in the greatest possible consternation and misery as the Turks had robbed his little all and an order had been issued to put in irons all those who enjoyed the privilege for "French Protection". Father Francis full of spirit betook himself instantly to the Austrian Consul who was a Jew and entreated him to defend both the missionary and the hospice. The Austrian Consul though unacquainted with Father Francis not only procured for his confrere a *firman* of immunity but also honoured a draft for 300 Spanish dollars drawn by our missionary on his relatives in Genoa. With this amount he partly relieved the distress of his Aleppo confrere and kept the balance for his own expenses to India. Father Francis then joined a caravan just starting for Baghdad, but was hardly outside the gate of the city when he was stopped by a stone violently thrown at him by two Arabs who however on accosting him discovered that he was not their man. After a long and painful journey through Syria, Mesopotamía, Chaldea, Arabia and the desert, the poor priest reached Baghdad and put up at the extensive hospital of the missionaries there who were of the same Order as himself. He thence proceeded to Bassorah where he found his brother missionaries in dreadful misery. His little purse became exhausted here. At last a captain of an English army most graciously consented at the request of an English Consul to take Father Francis on credit with the promise of being indemnified by the Vicar Apostolic of Bombay. But after a few days' acquaintance with him on board he was so delighted with his instruction

and entertaining conversation that he not only refused the promised passage money, but also insisted on his accepting £ 10/- sterling as a present. Father Francis at last arrived in Bombay on 22nd August 1799. He was 28 years 3 months and 28 days old when he reached Bombay.

The Vicar Apostolic in Bombay, Dom Pedro Alcantara, sent him to Sunkeri, a village 3 miles from Karwar, to reconstruct the Mission that was almost destroyed by Tippu Sultān in 1784. He arrived in Sunkeri on 13th April 1801 without any companion priest, without servant, without knowing the language, without interpreter, and without the things necessary for life.

He worked for 31 years in the Mission of Carwar (Sunkeri). His instructive and amiable conversation united to a noble and religious education rendered him beloved by all, listened to and feared by every body, more through respect than through servility.[2]

In 1805, Father Francis was deputed to Coorg to pacify the people as regards some disputes with the Archbishop of Goa. He was successful in obtaining a conciliatory agreement between both.[3]

On 14th December 1831 he was consecrated Vicar Apostolic of Malabar. He accepted this post only in obedience to the express orders of the Pope.

He administered this Vicarate with cosummate prudence and experience, with great credit to himself and honour to the Holy See, in the midst of the most formidable difficulties.

He died at Verapoly on Saturday 1st December 1844 at 4-30 p.m. and was buried in the Church of St. Joseph at Verapoly.

For his outstanding work in Canara, the British Government was pleased to confer on him a pension of Rs. 25/- a month in the year 1812. In 1821 it was raised to Rs. 50/- a month in 1831 when he was appointed Vicar Apostolic it was raised to

2. His whole life in Sunkeri is best described by himself in his own book.

3. I have in my possession a French version of this agreement. It is a very interesting document.

Rs. 75/- a month. This he enjoyed till his death. Father Francis was a prolific writer. He has left behind him many writings which are of a pioneer nature in the respective departments of knowledge.

The authorship of the following works is ascribed to him:

A Treatise on the Indian Calendar. It was printed in Italy.

A History of the Old Testament. Printed at the Royal Press at Lisbon.

A Complete Grammar of the Konkani Language. It was reprinted by Cunha de Rivara in Goa in 1858.

A Dictionary of Portuguese Konkani and Italian.

Annals of the Carwar Mission. Printed in Rome in 1939.

Hints on Missions.

MATRIARCHY IN KERALA

L. A. Krishna Iyer

Matriarchy had a worldwide distribution. It is now found not only among the primitive people of Asia, Africa, America, and Europe, but also among cultured people from ancient times The status of a woman was high in all civilizations. The Greeks, Hebrews, the Persians, the Ethiopians, and the Babylonians had a matriarchal ancestry. Heredotus tells us that the Lycians, who are an example of a European race, had the remarkable habit of naming themselves after the mother, and property devolved from mother to daughter. Here is an instance of a European race with matriarchal ideas in early historical times.

The earliest Indian culture of which we have any knowledge was the Mohenjadaro Civilization. Mother-cults predominated the culture of the people and this points to a mother-right in existence. There is little support for a theory of mother-right in the Ṛgveda. Traces of mother-right are found in the *Mahābhārata*. There is no civilized community in the modern world except the Hindus who conceive godhead as female. The Śāktas worship god as mother, and not the father. Śākta ideas permeate Hindu forms of thought, and the worst efforts of patriarchal law-givers have not been able to dislodge from the Hindu mind his primal respect for the mother. Mother-right is not a thing of the past in India. Although all the Hindus of the three higher castes follow the patriarchal code of Manu, there are still communities following mother-right.

Mother-right is now confined not only to the primitive tribes of the Kerala, but also to the Nayars and other castes who had a well developed mother-right, but who now rank as some of the most progressive castes among the Hindus. Women played an important part in Magadha, an important Dravidian city in North India. Existing Dravidian cities display strong mother-right tendencies. The Bhahlikas of the Punjab, the Newar who appear to be the kinsmen of the Nayars, and the Arattas have mother-right. F. J. Richards points out that there is abundant

evidence that inheritance through females was at one time general in South India on which the Brāhminic superstructure was built. Though there is no separate zone of mother-right and father-right organizations, mother-right had greater incidence in North Kerala where most people including Mappillas were matrilineal. It was most intense about Panniyur where, according to M. S. A. Rao, even the Nambudiris followed matriliny. It was a relic of the past when the military followers of conquering invaders married women of land owning classes, and when the important male members were absent in camp or court, and when the women remained in the family house on the estate and managed the farms. Matriliny is also found among the Khasis and the Garos of Assam. The fact that survivals of mother-right are scattered over the vast expanse of countries between South India and Ceylon on the one hand, Central Assam on the other indicates the possibility of a wider extension of matrilineal civilization in the Indian mainland. Kerala affords a veritable mine of information, as polyandry of the matriarchal and fraternal types prevail among the Pre-Dravidian and Dravidian peoples with the accompanying form of mother-right. People with a partriarchal tradition viewed the system of matriarchal societies as devoid of moral sentiment, whereas my study of matriarchy in Kerala shows that the system was a well-balanced social system conducive to the development of individuality in man and woman alike, the freedom of the sexes acting as a deterrant. Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar re-echoed the same when he recently said that the matriarchal system in Kerala was a perfect system and that women became educated in that system long before women's education was thought of anywhere else in the world. He said that the Kerala women were the pioneers of progress, because they enjoyed economic freedom and independence which they exercised in favour of their brothers and children.

Evolution of Mother-right

Leo Frobenius observed that there was a time when matriarchal and patriarchal institutions existed separately and were in their territory the decisive, determining and motivating

cultural factors. At one time, the two extensive regions comprising Asia and the interior of Africa (including Eastern Europe) must have been patriarchal, that is to say, the vast steppe lands, were patriarchal. The Mediterranean country and those of Southern Asia lying between the two expanses, that is, their coasts were at the same time under matriarchal sway. The occurrence of matriarchy among the Thantapulayas, the Western Pulayas, the Nayars, the Izhavas and the fishing castes along coastal Kerala corroborate the above theory. Patriarchy in its still modified form is still prevalent among the Africans of the steppes.

The hypothesis now accepted by anthropologists is that among the earliest savages, who lived by hunting, the man took his wife to himself, and that husband, wife, and children wandered together forming a patriarchal family. There was no well defined system of inheritance as there was nothing to inherit, but the relationship that existed was patriarchal. My observations in Kerala go to show that one section of the Malapantaram of Travancore who lead the life of nomadic hunters affords an example of the earliest form of patriarchy. When the savage passed from the hunting to the agricultural stage, patriarchy passed into matriarchy.

Mother-right means inheritance in the female line with regard to relationship and property. Inheritance from the mother's brother to her son (his nephew) is to be regarded as a matriarchal form of inheritance. Consequently, a man becomes the owner or at least the guardian of a matriarchal joint family's property or political order of a matriarchal state. His heirs are, in the case of matriarchal survivals, his sister's sons who are regarded as foreign to their father's family. Thus, this form of inheritance will also be considered matriarchal.

Among the Pre-Dravidian

The ordinary custom of savages is that the dead man's property is inherited by his children, if kinship is reckoned through the father, and by the sister's children, if kinship is reckoned through the mother. The right to inherit a dead man's property

was co-extensive with the performance of his obsequies and offering sacrifice to his spirit. It is observed that the chief mourner among the Thantapulaya is the nephew and he observes pollution for sixteen days. The wife and children do not observe pollution. Inheritance is among them in the female line, as it is also among the Muthuvans and Mannans of the Cardamom Hills of Travancore. Among the Western Pulayas of Travancore it is said that, before a man dies, he says, "*Oralum Olakkayum Elayakudiyum Anantharavanu.*" This means that the nephew of the Pulaya comes to inherit the mortar, the pestle, and the younger wife of his uncle as his wife. This custom is now vanishing. It is said that the brother's inheritance of both the widow and property occurs, but Westermark asserts that it is irrational to seek for causes of connection between widow and brother-in-law in polyandry. The exercise of marital relations in a husband's life time would become a necessary condition if carnal considerations alone formed the corner-stone in the development of the family. The life and habits of most of the Kerala tribes do not justify the conclusion, as their habits were not formed under the influence of considerations of enjoyment.

Among the Dravidian

The Nayars form a typical example of the Dravidians in Kerala. Although mother-right has disintegrated in towns and among the fashionable, the ancient custom still prevails in the villages and in the royal families of Kerala. They have great respect for the mother and the elder sister. The *tarwad* or clan consisted of all the descendants in the female line of a common male ancestor. The household was constituted by the mother, her children, sisters, and brothers. No husband formed part of it. Intermarriage between members of the same clan or *tarwad* was prohibited. The only valid marriages are those in which the parties are of equal standing with one another or in which the bridegroom belongs to a clan superior to that to which the bride belongs. Children belonged to the mother's brother whose name occurs in theirs. The family was nearer to a Nayar than anything else in the world. The families belonging to a clan are related to one another by community of pollution.

The Nambutiri contributed to the preservation of his family estates by adopting the custom that only the eldest member of the family should marry within their caste and that the junior members should find their spouses in the Kṣatriya and Nayar castes without being subject to the obligation of providing for their sustenance and other wordly needs. He thus preserved his patriachal system. Mother-right continued to be a sound institution, promoting the orderly progress and social unity of the communities, as long as the family consisted of a woman and her children. Its degeneration set in only when, under the impact of western civilization, the tendencies of the educated section began to draw them to the universal system of patriarchy. Under matriarchy, both the Nayar husbands and their wives enjoyed the utmost freedom to dissolve the marriage alliance. The dissolution entailed no hardship on the wife and children, because they were maintained by the *tarwad*.

Everything went off well so long as the Karanavan was a true *Marumakkathayi* in form and spirit. The impact of westernism tended to make them less matriarchal and troubles arose. Women had to look to their husbands for their maintenance. The educated section of the community began to agitate for legislation to validate the *Sambhandham* form of marriage. A law was enacted in Travancore in 1912 regulating marriage, succession, and family management of the Nayars. It legalised the *Sambandham* as valid marriage and made it obligatory on the part of the husband to maintain his wife and minor children. It altered the customary law of inheritance by conferring the right of inheritance on a Nayar male's property (self-acquired and separate) on his wife and children and made provision for the partition of *tarwad* properties among its members. It penalised polygamy and polyandry and made it obligatory on the part of the husband to maintain his wife and children. This paved the way for the complete overhauling of the social organization of the community. The fact that about 34,000 *tarwads* partitioned their properties within five years of the passing of the Regulation is proof of the eagerness of the community to avail itself of the permissive legislation. The obligation thrown on the

husband or father to maintain the wife or children combined with the right of the wife and children to acquire the self-acquired property of the husband and father made hypergamous marriages very rare. The restrictions made on the dissolution of marriage made divorce less frequent. The Regulation rung the death-knell of matriarchy and ushered the dawn of patriarchy. The Cochin Nayar Regulation was passed in 1920 to regulate and amend the law of marriage, inheritance, succession, family management and adoption on the same lines as in Travancore. In 1933, the Madras *Marumakkathayam* Act was passed to change the structure of family organization and the mode of inheritance in Malabar.

It was found by the Nayar community that no other legislation ruined them more quickly than the Act that enabled the individual partition of the Nayar. The community that was the backbone of the nation became disrupted and divided. The Nayar community began to pause, took stock of the situation, and felt that if individual partition has removed certain evils, it brought more than what it removed, and felt that the whole position should be revalued and reassessed. It was felt that it was difficult to go back, but yet the community should go back, or else it would seriously harm the community.

It was left to T. K. Velu Pillai to point out, that it was a sorrowful spectacle to see laws enacted by the Legislative Council in such a manner as to dismember a powerful community which stood for strength, sobriety, and patriotism. The Nayars were behaving in a friendly manner with the Izhavas and the Malayāḷi Brāhmins, with the Kṣatriyas and others, and because they formed a powerful community, they were considered to be leaders of public opinion in certain matters. The movement towards *makkathayam* was sponsored by the Nayar Service Society which led a militant attitude against the last vestiges of the defenceless *Marumakkathayam* system. The protests made against the dismemberment of families went unheeded and the law was substantially changed by legislative processes. It was claimed that in sixteen years, history had proved that the

modified system was an unpatriotic act, an unworkable indefencible system, one that dismembered not only Nayar *tarwads*, but also the *Marumakkathayam* communities. It was increasingly felt that the Bill tended to the dismemberment of the community and steps should be taken to resuscitate it from despondency by its representatives.

It is a far cry in the wilderness to expect a return to matriarchy. The march of time brought about radical changes towards patriarchy. The family has come to stay. As a social unit, it has assimilated the traditions, the sentiments, and modes of behaviour of society. Count recognised the deep influence of the family on the individual when he said, "In the family life alone can social instinct find any basis for growth. Marriage and the family are the modes adopted by society to control promiscuous expression of sex and dissipation of man's energy which could be directed and used in many more useful channels at the same time suppressing the sex." From the social point of view, matriarchy cannot be considered as inferior to patriarchy. In the words of Reuter, the two great regulations of early civilization, matriarchy and exogamy had nothing about them fantastic, outrageous, absurd, but are the practical outcome of the practical purposes of people like-minded like ourselves.

With the advent of independence, the status of woman has improved. Legislation in recent years has included several measures of social reform. One of the most important measures is the Hindu Succession Act which came into effect from the 17th June 1956. The objective of the Act is to evolve a fairly uniform system for all Hindus with respect to intestate succession and to grant the right of inheritance to daughters, besides removing inequality between man and woman with respect to rights to property. It applies to persons governed by the *Marumakkathayam* law which is matriarchal in character. Current thought is very critical of some of the provisions of the Hindu Succession Act in that it gives way to the demand for further multiplying the sharers of landed property. By conferring inheritance rights on the daughters, the fragmentation is doubled at one stroke. Dr. Ehrenfels remarks that the new legislation annulled the

privileges of matriliny, but has not effected anything approaching equality of women with men in patrilineal India. History and social experience, however, have taught us that liberty and equality are not ends in themselves, but they release forces which are ultimately conducive to human happiness.

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REVIEWS

The History of Orissa in two Volumes : By Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab. Published by the Prajatantra Prachara Samiti, Cuttack. Price: Vol. I. Rs. 12:50. Vol. II Rs. 7:50.

The volumes before us are by the architect of present day Orissa, Chief Minister of Orissa for the second time, after the interval covered by a term in the Central Cabinet and another as Governor of a State. This is not merely a narrative but a tessellated fabric of history and a source-book. Beginning with the earliest times, the book gives a comprehensive network of authoritative extracts and narratives. "The Complete History of Orissa" was published "on the occasion of the Twentieth Session of the Oriental Conference at Bhuvaneswar."

As mentioned by Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji in his Foreword, this "work had a romantic origin. He (the author) thought of it in his life of enforced rest and leisure in the fateful days of his life as a prisoner in the jail at Ahmednagar in the most exalted company of the distinguished comrades in a common suffering, for a common cause, the cause of freedom."

The present State of Orissa comprised originally "three distinct regions, Uḍra or Oḍra or Auḍra; Utkal and Kaliṅga." The history of the multiple region has necessarily its limitations in unitary treatment and the chequered course of sovereignty in these tracts is represented in the treatment of the material collected together. The second volume brings the history upto 1960 A.D. But the material in the last thirty years is not so much history as current politics and a number of the participants are happily still active.

Orissa as Kaliṅga has been known from the days of the Epics. Kaliṇga has an eternal, undying fame in human history as the instrument for the conversion of Aśōka from a conqueror of countries to the 'Conqueror of Self,' from a cult of '*Himsa*' and 'Cruelty' to a missionary of "*Ahimsa*' from 'greed' to 'benevolence'.

The next great figure is Kharavela with his Hātigumphā inscription. Incidentally that inscription reminds us that Kaliṅga's geographical situation has exposed it to periodical cyclonic devastation from those remote times. The Imperial Guptas, the Cāḷukyas, the Kaḍambas, the Rāśtrakūtas, the Cōḷas, and the Vijayanagara have figured on the stage of Orissa's history prominently by turns, leaving out the Mughal, Marāṭḥa and English dominations of later days—representing modern age of relatively of uncertain data. The narratives of the indigenous dynasties of Sailodbhava, Bhauma Kara, the Sūryavamśi Gajapati and Khurda Rāj are comprehensive.

Orissa and Mysore have common features in more than one respect. The Golden Age of Orissa was under the Gangas, of whom a continuous genealogy from 497 to 1435 A.D. is available and is given on pages 264 to 266. The Gaṅgas were similarly the great rulers in Talkād in Mysore. The Gaṅga rule was, however, under an eclipse for an interval in the tenth and eleventh centuries in Orissa. As in Mysore, the three great ācāryas, Śaṁkara, Rāmānuja and Madhva influenced the religious life of the people of Orissa. Jains had a long period of influence in both the areas. And while Chaitanya established the *Rādha Krishna* cult of *madhura–bhāva* in Orissa, Basava established the Veeraśaiva cult of *bhakti* in Karnātaka.

About Śrī Chitanya's influence on the administration of Pratāparudra Dēva (Suryavamśi Gajapati), the author says (p. 329) " The state of political stagnation that marks his reign may easily be ascribed to the cult of love which was gradually spreading in Orissa and which reached its climax on the advent of Śrī Chaitanya into Orissa. A doctrine that preaches inaction and sentimentalism is harmful to the ordinary man in his daily walk of life and it is simply fatal to an administrator who holds the destiny of millions. The attempt to make the *bhakti* cult a mass religion and to influence the king and his officers by its sweet pessimistic philosophy had no doubt been fatal to the social and political life of the country."

Not every one, even in a secular Republic of India will subscribe to this assessment of Śrī Chaitanya as a pessimist. It is

refreshing to note in the very next sentence "A useful outcome of this religious upheaval of the period on account of the cult of love was that Oriya literature received a strong impetus." As remarked by Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji "to the cult of Jagannātha, full justice has been done by the author's comprehensive and synthetic method." In appendix IV we read, "The religious life of Orissa is inextricably bound up with Jagannātha of Pūri. For the people Jagannātha is the manifestation of the Supreme Being."..." Śrī Chaitanya came to Orissa in 1509 A.D. and stayed there for 15 years ..Vaiṣṇavism as propounded by Śrī Chaitanya came to be of the masses......It was also absorbed into this cult of Jagannātha, and Jagannātha came to be regarded as the chief deity of neo-Vaiṣaṇavism. The death of Chaitanya gave rise to a tradition that he got absorbed within the goal of the blue mountain. The form and spirit of Jagannātha and Chaitanya were of identical nature."

We cannot conclude this review without a reference to the admirable chapter on "Oversea Colony of Orissa."

The value of the first volume will be greatly enhanced if historical maps of each period, chronological tables of local dynasties and contemporaries are added.

A. V. RAMANATHAN

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